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POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY.

FRIENDSHIP AND POLITICS.

WHEN the suburban missionary society was engaged in the manufacture of school bags for the little Zulu children, it was only expressing in a picturesque way an almost universal attitude of mind. My needs are your needs, my methods must be your methods. The European railroad running over the Chinese royal graves is not so much an outrage as it is a dramatic instance of a general point of view.

When a religious tract is proffered a Bowery "bum," we are perhaps far enough advanced to smile; but a solemn complacent hopefulness pervades our spirits when we circulate through the tenements reform political literature, and we feel that we have exercised much subtlety by printing the pamphlets in five different languages. The fluent talk of the sociologist, the ceaseless repetitions of the informed social pedagogue, the annual reports of the societies that deal with our city majorities at first hand—all affect us little or not at all. But while we are failing both to understand and to interpret, there are others who, understanding, do not interpret. Why should they? Is it their place to inform the ignorant? And for that matter it can hardly occur to those who do understand, that the polished, the cultivated, the reformed and the reforming classes still walk in darkness.

Broadly speaking there are two methods of social education: one is the impress from above, working for conformity to a rigid, inelastic standard; the other is an inductive process—

of understanding and interpreting and then acting. The latter method we have begun to apply seriously in most branches of learning and of life. We are, however, only on the threshold of its application to politics ; and not until we do apply this method shall we know what path to take to lead us toward the goal of social righteousness. We shall have set out on the right track when we learn something of the actual underlying mechanism of city politics, when we recognize the primal factors in the civic dishonor that sits enthroned in more than one of our great American cities.

In last analysis our municipal politics has its source in the "job" — that necessary centre around which life turns for the great majority, and especially for those who live on the margin. Somewhere the job dispenser meets the job seeker. The former is receiving a great deal of contemporary attention. He would be nobody if he did not meet the latter. It is the latter that makes the former possible. What is he? Where does he come from? Is he a stationary or a changing factor?

The job seeker is born in a tenement house. He is a product of the conditions of education and industry that flourish there. In New York (and it is of New York alone that I can speak at first hand) he has grown up in a steadily deteriorating environment. The evolution of the tenement house through all its six painful stages to the crowning evil of the dumb-bell double-decker has produced its stunting effects. More and more has industry infested the tenement house until the home has too frequently become the shop. Where the woman has had to help the man with his work, the child has been left to its own resources. The job has its menacing and sinister aspects in many tenement-house quarters. The spread of immorality through tenement houses, caused by crusades against vice and by the immunity from the payment of protection money to the police, has had its saddest and most revolting effects in the corruption of children. These children, also anxious for a job, increase the family income by being the instruments and agents of vice. The early acquaintance with infamy gradually stunts all the finer feelings. The prostitutes who give out their

washing to one tenant and their scrubbing to another, who pay the children for running errands, cannot be regarded by their neighbors as an unmixed evil. On the economic margin the good payer, no matter what else she may be, takes on almost a virtuous character by force of economic utility.

At the age of fourteen the tenement-house child becomes a breadwinner. In those brief fourteen years he has learned the lessons that remain the most permanent influence of his life. The facts of his life have a sequence of meaning and importance that are strange indeed to children who have been brought up in comfort. To the child of the tenement the great facts that shine out most prominently are rent, food, school, his small group of associates and "going to work."

The two most frequent words in the vocabulary of the adult tenement-house dweller are rent and work. The child becomes permeated with the same omnipresent thought, with only this difference, that work is for the most part in the future tense. Rent is the one thing that must be paid. It is the central relentless fact of life. Other things may, comparatively speaking, be neglected—at all events deferred. When the child is of the legal age for work, he goes out to earn the rent. As soon as the child can pay the rent the family can breathe more freely; possibilities of food and furniture and clothing arise that previously had to be held down with a rigid hand. The "sacredness of the job," as it has been termed, thus begins at the earliest period. Compared with the sacredness of the job, what place does conscious civic principle hold?

The cultivated man, meeting every day many varieties of human beings of different interests and tastes and occupations, gradually learns to see life as a complex of manifold and most diverse, yet well-correlated, activities. He gets a civic sense through experience as well as through the imagination. But with the average tenement-house family this is not the case. The family is limited in its outlook. Its associates are few and like-minded at that. Society, then, especially among those who live on the economic borderland, is divided into innumerable more or less isolated groups. The large conceptions that are

common and edifying to all the groups are, for the most part, these two alone—the church and the public school. The church, even in its narrowest expressions, has something of the universal in it, and some suggestion of the eternal verities of truth and beauty and honor. It means the perpetual presence of moral standards; it is the institutional embodiment of the great ethical imperatives. And the public school, no matter how inefficient and inadequate it may be in certain localities, is still, even where dimly recognized as such, the guaranty that the state is responsible for the education and well-being of its component parts. The public school is the profoundest expression of our conviction of civic responsibility.

Apart from these two great forces that make for the upbuilding of the civic sense and social conscience—the public school and the church—there are other forces that have arisen among workingmen which have vastly more educational influence than we are wont to believe. These are the trade organizations and all the societies that together make up what may loosely be termed the socialistic propaganda. Here, as in the case of the church, no matter what the limitations of method and of intellectual breadth may, under certain conditions, be, the general effect is to promote the organic view of society. A large world of ideals is opened up where the old personal view of life has to give way to a larger conception. Even though new prejudices and new misconceptions arise, the old limitations are broken down. Every trade union is a school, whether it succeeds in raising wages or not. Every socialist organization is animated by a social belief and purpose, even though the terms in which these convictions are couched may not correspond to actualities.

But even where all these educational factors combined—the church, the school, the union—have enlarged the family life and brought to it a vision of civic principle, still a harsh and absolute necessity makes the working child at fourteen, and all the older members of the family who are confronted by the bread-and-butter realities of life, more interested in their jobs than they possibly can be in civic principles.

The character of the job sought or found in itself reacts upon the whole mental attitude of the worker. And here it is but fair to note a discouraging feature. The increased diversification of industry,—the increased demand for workers who are themselves but parts of a vast machine,—while offering large opportunities for highly skilled labor, offers still larger opportunities for the great army of the relatively unskilled, and thus helps to take away that interest in an occupation as a whole that never fails to dignify the working-man. To work at a trade is to develop skill, and with it something of a comprehension of the importance of the trade in the general scheme of life. The natural tendency of the trades is towards growth and dignity and self-possession. If the child enters upon a trade, he is unconsciously preparing himself for citizenship in the degree that he attains to mental and economic independence. But what is the effect of that kind of a job that does not mean an insight into its relation to the general scheme of life, that does not offer dignity and satisfaction to the worker?

In the first place, unskilled, and what one might call unrelated, labor can expect very little financial advancement, and this lack of expectation of a rise thus becomes a constituent part of the general consciousness of a community where masses of working people congregate. This reacts upon the feeling of hopefulness necessary to produce independence of spirit. Ambition to become a first-class workman at a special job deteriorates into a desire for *any* job. This indifference conduces a willingness to go from one job to another, which is a very different thing from the elasticity of the skilled mechanic. The alertness of the latter means readiness in adaptation; the willingness of the former to change means the growth of instability of character, and hence the gradual production of a class of persons ready to fall an easy prey when the Benefactor or the Strong Man appears.

That this is an especial stigma upon one class of society, let us not for a moment suppose. Everywhere the lack of sticking to one's job, the lack of concentration and conscious

purpose, works its own especial damage; but its social menace is seen more clearly in that stratum of society where the anatomical structure is more in evidence because less imbedded in the complex covering of other factors.

The dependence of the young working people of the tenement-house districts of our great cities is, however, by no means attributable wholly to the two causes of which I have spoken, namely, the necessity for a job at fourteen, and the relative decline of the trades. This dependence is due to a thousand causes, both economic and ethical, which we can but barely touch upon. One evident cause is the mechanical method of teaching that still exists in our public schools, whereby children are taught to commit to memory rather than to think. Another undoubted cause is the lack of creative imaginative play — a need which we are only beginning to understand, and which is responsible for the greater part of our juvenile crime. Still another cause is the hand-to-mouth policy of domestic management, due partly to the ignorance among women of the simplest household economies, partly to the intermittent earnings of the family that never permit a secure basis of economic calculation, and partly to the apparent hopelessness of saving and thrift when an economic rise seems out of the question.

To sum up, the job seeker is handicapped by his environment and his lack of a resourceful training. He is a dependent child — for the most part a dependent man. One day the job seeker meets the job dispenser. The inevitable happens. With gratitude the job is accepted. "It is a question of commercial advantage," said one of the most honest and respected of Tammany officials simply the other day.

The job dispensers of the great city are evidently the greatest friends the poor man has. What other friends has he to compete with them? There is the neighbor, the clergyman, the so-called "friendly visitor" (if the family has come to the relief point), the settlement resident and the politician. It does not take a prophet to say which of these can confer the most substantial benefit. The neighbor and the politician

go deepest. The clergyman has, for the most part, his official limits. He officiates at the crises of life, — baptism, marriage and death. He bestows occasional relief. He is the agent at once of Heaven and of the unknown rich outsider. The "friendly visitor" is variously looked upon, with obsequious gratitude or with ill-disguised suspicion, and is chiefly known as a person who finds out about one's private affairs from the housekeeper on the "first floor back." On the whole, he has created a general, though for the most part unwarranted, distrust. The settlement resident is still too new a factor to be measured accurately. But perhaps he stands nearer to the politician than he realizes; certainly he has not yet learned enough of that important man. For the politician combines to an unusual degree the qualities of outsider and insider, man of weight and common neighbor. The politician does not use words people cannot understand. He does not wear clothes that make him seem a foreigner. He went to school with his constituents. He knows who used to live in the block. His children play with the other children. He is what any one of his neighbors might have been had fortune favored. He is grand with a grandeur understood. He is one of themselves raised to the *n*th power. And in the days of his wealth he has not moved "uptown" or grown proud. He is the same old "Jim" that he used to be. Social aspirations may be insidiously creeping into his wife's heart, most certainly have entered into his daughter's, but they do not exist for him. For he has the society he wants, — the society of his friends in the other districts who have risen to the top as he has risen and who have like tastes, ambitions and pleasures. He does not look with envy upon the entertainments of the Four Hundred; they are no more amusing than the hat-check balls of the association proudly bearing his name, and he knows it. A little more elegance in his clothing may be allowed him now than formerly, but if he affects style, it is a style that is understood; it is the multiple of what his friends in the block have already. A naturally friendly man, his opportunities for expressing his friendliness increase as he rises in politics.

Once, as a neighbor pure and simple, he would have helped the poor widow on the next floor with a quarter toward paying the rent; now, perhaps, he can pay for the whole month. Once, he would have attended the crippled boy's funeral with genuine sympathy; now, he sends a large bouquet (the florist on "the avenue" makes it up, and it is the conventional bouquet the situation requires; a departure from the convention into the realm of cut flowers all of one kind would be to show him an alien).

In all these ways his natural sympathy takes on a more substantial form as his opportunities for spending become enlarged. To be sure, as he goes on his sympathy becomes somewhat more elastic than formerly. He stretches his conception of friendship. And as his power increases and more and more job hunters come to meet him in his rôle of job dispenser, the old friendship more and more sinks into what the Tammany official calls a relation of commercial advantage. At first the expression of real attachment, next the polite social helpfulness to the agreeable acquaintance and finally the exchange of actual recognized services — such is the series through which business emerges from friendship.

What a pity it is that reforms take the time order they do — always coming after things! Civil-service reform, the Australian ballot — these are the afterthoughts of experience. They come to find the job dispenser on the throne. The boss is seated firmly in his place. He has won confidence; he has only to retain it. He can afford to laugh at the afterthoughts of experience; yet the day will come when the laugh will die away, though it is likely to be rather in spite of his enemies the reformers than because of them. For the job dispenser evolved into the ruling boss has in himself certain elements of weakness. He cannot afford to use his power as he sometimes does use it. The public will not revolt, no matter how much patronage is dispensed, so long as its general rights are not interfered with. But the public resents a too open flaunting of power.

Still, a man in power may do much. When one of our New York district leaders arranged for one of his henchmen to have

a soda-water stand in a small park, the public only laughed when the sign "Sea-Food" appeared over the stand. The extension of the fish market into the park aroused less wrath than good-natured amusement. Power is indeed often quite absolute. Let me present an interesting example of political tyranny that illustrates the rigid firmness with which the boss exacts obedience. A certain New York district belonged politically to a distinguished commissioner. In the district lived a popular saloon keeper. He was handicapped by belonging neither to the dominant race nor to the dominant church—he was an Englishman and a Protestant; but he was a popular man, eminently adapted to be what is known as "the people's choice." He was picked out by the leader as the proper man to run for the Assembly. The saloon keeper did not want to run; he said it meant time and money, and he could not afford it; but at the least he wanted to know what share of the patronage he could have for his friends. Then the leader became menacing. "If you don't run, we'll ruin your business," he threatened. The man yielded and was elected; but he received no patronage to distribute. Within a year his house was mortgaged and he was well on the way to financial ruin; for he had to help his constituents, whereas the district leader was strong enough not to have to help him. The entire patronage of the district was doled out by the leader, whose underlings were mere tools.

Such a situation, although indicating absolute power, is perilous for the party supporting it. Beyond a certain point of endurance even the man whose whole *Weltanschauung* is based on the idea of personal loyalty alone, will waver in allegiance. And yet what course is open to him? He looks about and sees two alternatives, one the entrance into another party, the other a position of political independence. The enormous difficulty of either course is evident. To leave the party identified with his every natural instinct is a wrench only comparable to the struggle of a few decades ago in the religious life of a man abandoning one church for another. For a man of cultivation and experience, reared in independence

and fed from the beginning on ideas, principles and ideals, the amount of friction to be overcome in such a change is hardly credible. But a man's politics in the district of which I have spoken is more than mere ideas or principles; it is an integral part of his life, interwoven with his entire existence. To abandon it is almost a piece of treachery, an abandonment of one's friends. Even if the victim knows that his position and that of his friends is almost intolerable, he naturally asks himself: But will it be any better elsewhere? Is not human nature the same everywhere, and if evils exist, is it not safer and at any rate infinitely more comfortable for me to remain in the environment I know and understand and with which I am most intimately associated? This conscious or unconscious course of reasoning is not to be dislodged by arguments, by tracts, by the spread of "principles" or by any academic means whatsoever. Such methods are like words spoken in a foreign tongue; they reach neither head nor heart. When the man from the other great party comes along and says "Join us!" the reply, even if unspoken, is: Do you not also try to get places for your friends? Do you not also seek to gain the favor of the dominant corporations? In other words, have you not the same personal methods and aims as ourselves, with the disadvantage that you are *not* ourselves, that you are alien in tradition, in religion — that in fact you are not of us, and hence seem strange and foreign?

And if there is all this to overcome in the case of the transfer of allegiance from one great party to another great party, how much harder is it for a man to give up not only his traditions but his psychology and join the reformers?

For the reformer is a wholly unknown quantity. He is distrusted, like every other foreigner. He comes from a different environment. His English is a different tongue from that of the people he desires to reform. His experience is, for the most part, extremely limited. He is absolutely uncolloquial. He is unfamiliar with all those elements that make up the great traditions of party loyalty. He does not sympathize with these traditions, even if he knows them. He is an

outsider. He is working on the people, not with them. He wants them to be different from themselves and more like him. In all this the position of unconscious superiority is alienating in its effect. The people who listen to him may not doubt the desirability of the reforms which he mentions; they simply doubt *him*, and that is fatal. They take him lightly; he is not real. Since he is unaccompanied by the substance of patronage, and lives in a world of ideas, the people regard his talk, in the picturesque phrase of the Tammany official, as "a whirlwind of words." Added to the doubt of the reformer's substantial merits there is often as well the dark suspicion that he is a decoy, a sort of forerunner of the rule of the capitalist, a man clever with words but leading one on to ruin. He must have some ulterior purpose. Thus the reformer has far more friction to overcome in his attempt to win over the working-man than has the party out of power.

Occasionally events crystallize so that the reformer can come into power through an extraordinary revulsion of the people against their masters. But this revulsion has to be produced by events rather than words. A few men of the dominant party sent to prison will do more to cause a revulsion of feeling than all the arguments or newspaper *exposés* in the world. The reformer may then get his innings, and if he makes some effort to understand the human nature that pervades the greatest part of the city population, he may remain for longer than a brief season. But the odds are against it for a long time still to come. For the reformer is as yet constitutionally unable to follow up the detail necessary for political popularity and success. He relies on ideas, not on men. He does not realize that the majority of citizens still live in a world of personalities, not of principles.

But while the reformers who are before the public as such are monopolizing attention and getting more than their share of approbation and blame, there are three great classes of reformers that are passed by, almost as unworthy of serious attention.

What is the nature of real reform? Is it not the break-up of a long-held philosophy of life? Does it not involve the idea

that change is possible? Is it not of the essence of true reform that men shall know that the order of the day is not an eternal order, but that what is, can actually be otherwise? "Any change in our district," said an astute priest to me recently, "would be a change for the better, for it would involve the idea of the possibility of progress." The real reformer is one who breaks up old prejudices, looks forward to a new and better order and does his share in trying to bring about that order. The weak, futile and professional reformer, the distrusted man bringing discredit upon the name of reform, is he who has visions — and it may be noble ones — but who unfortunately endeavors to accomplish his purposes by wholly inadequate and inappropriate means. The reformer, to be successful, must be a loved man or an astute man or both. He must be a leader whom the people love to follow out of sympathy, affection and trust, or he must be a man acquainted with practical politics and understanding how to utilize his knowledge.

Now real reformers may be grouped in three classes. First there is the seer, the preacher, the exhorter, the agitator if you will. In general, the function of this type is to see, preach, exhort, agitate, not to organize. His value is that of a clarifier, a light bringer. Phillips Brooks was a reformer. Like the sunshine his personality and preaching permeated the whole mental atmosphere of his time and raised the tone of life in the locality he blessed. For as we must, with Aristotle, think of politics as the whole conduct of life in the community, we must admit that he is a great political reformer who raises the whole plane of civic life. The great seer, preacher and agitator must be classed among the educative factors of social life — with the school and the press. He is by no means to be confounded with that remote and yet meddlesome reformer whom the working-man distrusts, who desires in his inexperienced, amateurish and futile way to supersede the solid masonry of the old parties. On the contrary, it is the function of the seer to point out the vision; the man of method can best put it into effect. To discover and to utilize belong in general to two different temperaments.

The second class of real reformers consists of those who, themselves workingmen, are striving for the elevation of the class in which they live. These men are often leaders of small labor parties. They may be editors of practically unknown newspapers; they may be presidents of some obscure debating or literary societies. Our working population is honeycombed with these elements of reform. Such a reformer should be recognized as a real source of power. His activity is ardent, continuous and engrossing. He makes his friends read history and biography and economics. The works are rarely the classic authorities, but they are of sufficient merit to stimulate thought. Where there is thought there is hope. The man to worry about is not the vitally interested socialist, but rather the sodden and obedient disciple, taking what is offered and asking nothing further. A democracy must be alive to the core. The only dangerous classes are the indifferent classes, in whatever stratum of society they may be found.

The third class of real reformers is to be found in the independents within the fold of a great party. That a man cannot retain his independence and still be a member of a great political party, is equivalent to saying that independence and organization are incompatible. For membership in a party does not involve a declaration of belief in all the principles laid down by that party; it simply signifies a willingness to join a party the majority of whom probably hold to the principles of the party as laid down in its platform. To stand aloof from the great parties, to keep out of the way of the besmirching influence of what is called "practical politics," is to allow those parties to fall more and more a prey to the most evil influences. Nowhere is the independent reformer so deeply needed as he is in the great political parties. Nowhere can the young reformer meet such stirring difficulties, such bracing defeats, such wholesome discipline. The political party is a hard school, often subject to ignorant and domineering teachers; but if one can keep one's heart and head, the battle is indeed worth while.

But as yet none of these classes of reformers is strong enough to play a prominent part. The seers are too few, the

reformers in the workingmen's ranks are too scattered and obscure and the great parties contain too few independents.

The difficulties then that lie in the path of municipal reform are very great. In the first place, there is the difficulty that the situation is largely dominated by two great national parties that have little or nothing to do with municipal questions. Secondly, any attempt at reform runs up against the solid wall of tradition and prejudice and personal preference. Thirdly, the reforming class in general has little sense for organization, little regard for the psychology of the situation and little patience in daily drudgery and detail.

The law of substitution of which the educators speak so frequently and with such good sense is applied but little in the art of politics. Yet in politics if anywhere the idea is applicable. The out and out reformers may enjoy a brief success, but it will be likely to be sporadic; for success will never rest on the banners of the outsider, the foreigner to the majority. Success will belong to him alone who is not ashamed to try humbly to understand the place politics holds in the minds of the mass of voters. He will see that he has more to do than to meet issues. He must be a real friend, and a person who seems natural and near. If the law of substitution is to be applied, he must be a real rival to the boss. He must, that is, have some little prospect of success; he must strive to make life pleasanter for the voters. He must have a positive civic program, not a negative program consisting of moral goodness and antagonism to existing powers. The development of municipal parties to take the place of national parties would do more than any other agency in our cities to spread ideals. The value of the independent reformer is the value of the high-class agitator in any field; he clears the atmosphere, he speaks the truth. But the great constructive work of reform is still likely for years to come to be in the hands of parties, and it will have to be carried out through the gradual enlightenment of the parties.

But all schemes of enlightenment through legislation and education must be built up on the evidence of facts. The

reformer who starts out with ideas and methods that do not correspond with actual conditions is a positive mischief-maker. The pure and simple theorist can afford to despise facts. He can go on the principle so often adopted by the economists: "At any rate, if things are as my premises declare, then my results follow." This, if not always valuable, is at least harmless. But the practical reformer cannot afford to adopt this principle. A reformer has to deal with facts; and if he interprets them incorrectly, he is likely to give a setback to true progress.

It is therefore absolutely essential that agencies of interpretation should be increasingly effective, in order, first, that the facts of life among tenement-house dwellers may be understood by those who have influence on legislation, and second, that those who understand may accommodate themselves to actual conditions. Here is where a large part of the value of "settlements" lies. From the vantage ground of daily contact with the lives of working people even facts already substantiated through other sources assume a different color. Statistics become vital, old truisms take on a new grace or an added shame and many a generally accepted opinion turns out to be a myth. Persons hitherto lumped together into a class are differentiated; old homogeneities break up and are displaced by a quite different classification.

A close acquaintance with the life of the tenement-house neighborhoods of New York is an absolute essential for all who are working for social betterment. If that acquaintance cannot be first hand, then it must come through those who do live in such neighborhoods. The social settlements, in so far as they truthfully interpret the lives of people to one another, are of real and great value. But the settlement is rather a method than an institution. No one can live in a settlement for any length of time without the discovery that he has more to learn than to teach, that to reform he too must be reformed.

It is often said that we in New York have just as good a city government as we deserve—that water will not rise higher than its source—that the government of every city is just

exactly what the city desires. There is a sense in which this is true. Democracy is a government by public opinion. But we have to take issue with the assertion that public opinion does actually govern New York. We have properly speaking no public opinion. We have opinions enough—opinions of one group and of another group; but there is as yet no general permeating public opinion in regard to public life. The charitable society Tammany Hall, formed, as its constitution declares, for the relief of its indigent members, has lived up to its purpose. It has helped out its indigent members and friends. It has become from a friendly society the governing power of New York because it has so thoroughly looked after its friends. Is there a public opinion in the proper sense of the word about Tammany Hall? I think we may say there is not. There is hatred of its cupidity, its ignorance, its effrontery. But there is no public opinion that is common to all. In other words, there is no general understanding of the actual Tammany Hall, with its criminal aggressions on the one hand, and its deep element of power through its personal hold on the people on the other. Public opinion cannot exist where there is no common understanding. We can have a government by majority where there is no common understanding, but a government by public opinion can exist only where all the elements of public life are fused in a crucible of common thought or feeling. To make a strong public opinion then, it is first necessary that all the component parts of the given public shall understand something of the life and thought of the other parts, and it is especially necessary that the minority shall understand the majority.

True reform and lasting reform will come about when public opinion will sustain it. When the reformer understands men as well as the politician friend understands them, he too will have his day.

To sum up, then: we have tried to show that the development of the job-giving friend is complemented by the dependence of the friend benefited; that thus the two elements in the bargain of political business fit hand and glove. We have tried

to point out that with the ordinary poor man the sacredness of the job must necessarily be a more powerful factor than any consciousness of civic principle. We have briefly indicated the ordinary avenues through which friendship comes to the poor man, and we have seen that the friendship of the politician is by far the most substantial. We have seen the nearness of the politician, the remoteness of the typical reformer. We have seen what the nature of true reform is and where it is and ought to be found. And we have tried to point out that no lasting reform is possible until there is a development of public opinion worthy of the name. In this necessarily incomplete outline, one thing alone shines out clearly, and that is that progress is really being made. That is the hopeful thing about democracy; it is slow but thorough. A common consciousness is arising. The man is becoming the citizen. The noble ideal of the state is taking hold of the imagination, and from the slums of dishonor there is bound to rise the City Beautiful.

MARY KINGSBURY SIMKHOVITCH.

NEW YORK CITY.